17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuorwa, luong' wuoru uchiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

The special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

3

Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminus in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *buru*,[1] for they were *wasigu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kocia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karacuonyo territory.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the JoSeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karacuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kasii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his home to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thwondi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thuon jatela*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *won gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Luoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nifa.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembe*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up. 226 227

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— 251 262 [161]

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai). 226 [501]

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Moburu on the Tanganyika border on the South side:— 361

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	13,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

361
162

South Kavirondo.

Karachonya	21,105
Kochia	7,327
Kaniada	9,579
Kasigunga	2,442
Kaksingiri	1,463
Gwasi	5,390
Karungu	2,559
Kadem	11,145
Mohuru	771
Rusinga (Island)	2,099
Mfwangano (Island)	1,792
	65,682

Brief Account of Visit to Kach Bay.

226 The following short account of a trip round Kach Bay and up the Miriu river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Amimo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibos river and at 6-30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Dhow Pier with B. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nanga fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary
136 Darter Anhinja rufa (Dholuo, Osoo) was there in large numbers. This bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adel, and Osoga. An occasional cormorant (Dholui, Kwasi) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Okol) while numerous birds like seagulls and teons (Dholuo, Sialo) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelicanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuzi) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skyward to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalamendi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogongolo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Musathi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 492

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 262

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 361

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud [178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses [342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually 513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The 882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.[1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUI

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.) A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (See p. 752-not processed). - Analyst]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *m'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who